1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

224 Bush cow (Carib, maipuri; *Tapir Americanus*).
136 Birds of the following varieties, particularly:
262
Powis or bush turkey (*Crax* sp.).
Mamm (tinamou).
Dukwaru or djokoro.
Wicissi ducks.
Cock of the Rock (Carib, unknown to author; *Rupicola elegans*).

Bird eggs (particularly mamm eggs).
Rats.

262 The tchiri, a white worm which lives in the pith inside the stem
136 of the turu tree, is fried on the cassava pan and eaten. The kom-
252 buru worm which lives in decaying wood is also eaten. The Caribs
● do not eat tiger, snake, camudi (water snakes), monkey, chicken hawk, or "crows" (vultures). Abstinence from these forms of animal food is based on tribal taste and has no religious significance.

Kushie ants are occasionally consumed. They are parched on
[825] the cassava pan and the abdomens are eaten. There is a long white worm which is always found in a kushie ant hill, called by the Indians two-headed, because the tail closely resembles the head. It is said to be the "mother of the ants," makoyumo (probably *Amphis baenae*). The muro frog, whose quacking sound is regarded as a sign of rain, is sometimes eaten and is said to taste like "young fowl."

The magico-religious beliefs and practices concerned with hunting will be taken up in the chapter on religion.

Methods of skinning the "accouri" are as follows: An incision is made from the neck to the sexual opening; branching incisions are then made to remove the hide of each of the legs; an incision is made encircling the neck; and the whole skin excluding that of the head is removed in one piece. The head is severed from the body, the abdominal cavity is opened by a sagittal incision in its anterior wall and the contents of the cavity are removed. The carcass is then dismembered for cooking. Essentially the same method is used for other fur or hair-bearing animals.

226 **Fishing.** European fish hooks are obtained in trade. If these
[177] are unavailable, hooks are made from common pins or from a
824 certain thorny bush of the jungle. Fish rods of yarriyarri (*Anaxa-*

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

The women and children, along the banks or in the water, kill the apparently stupefied fish by slashing them with their cutlasses and knives. The fish are then put in carrying baskets and carried to the picnic spot. For the picnic lunch the smallest specimens only are eaten, usually being roasted over the fire on the ends of fresh green sticks, in the same way in which we roast picnic frankforters. The small fish, from which the heads and scales have not been removed, are then put with a small pepper into a sort of sandwich of cassava bread and eaten with much relish and gay talk, punctuated by the necessity of inserting the fingers in the mouth to remove those bones which cannot be chewed and swallowed. The larger fish are deprived of their scales with the help of a piece of wood which has been sharpened to a chisel edge. Then they are disembowelled, decapitated, and split sagittally along the back without removing the vertebrae or other bones. They are placed in carrying baskets with moist leaves and carried back to the settlement. If the people have a supply of trade salt, a number of slits are made parallel to the ribs and the meat is rubbed thoroughly with salt and placed out in the sun to dry. If there is no salt the meat is slit in the same way and dried over a babracot.

The wa'u poison is hacked into small chips and these are thrown into the water. Only the heart of the tree is used. The chips are thrown into the water in the evening, several hours being required for the poison to take effect. The next morning the dead fish may be collected. The wa'u is apparently less successful than haiari and is only used in the absence of the latter.

The poison made from konami is called sokoi. The konami leaf is pounded into a mash which is mixed with grated, unsqueezed,

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eating it. . . Rotenone is a constituent of the following plants, comprising seven genera of the bean family (Fabaceae or Leguminosae): *Cracca cinerea, C. virginiana, Derris Chinensis, D. elliptica, D. malaccensis, D. potyantha, D. uliginosa, Lonchocarpus nicou* (cube), *Lonchocarpus sp.* (haiari), *L. chrysophylus* (?) (Nekoe), *Millettia, Mundulea suberosa, Ormocarpum, Spatholobus roxburghii*. . . Rotenone is now known to be harmless to mammals when taken by mouth, but many early writers on derris spoke of its dangerous poisonous qualities. . . Buckingham in 1930 made numerous tests on dogs, cats, pigs, sheep, cows, chickens with rotenone and with the ether extract of derris. He concluded that, when administered by mouth, pure rotenone produced no visible effects in dogs, cats, pigs, or sheep in doses (for dogs) up to one grain per pound of body weight and expressed the opinion that even larger doses would be harmless." Roark summarises other experiments showing the non-toxic effects of rotenone on mammals, its extremely toxic effects on fish, and its variable effects on various species of insects. It is concluded that rotenone, the poisonous principle of haiari, is a stomach poison, although the physiological effects are not described. On this subject see also Killip, E. P. and Smith, A. C., "The Identity of the South American Fish Poisons, 'Cube' and 'Timbo'." *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 20, No. 5, March 4, 1930, pp. 74–81; Roark, R. C., "Excerpts from consular correspondence relating to insecticidal and fish-poison plants." U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, Insecticide Division, June 1931; Killip, E. P. and Smith, A. C., "The Use of Fish Poisons in South America." *Smithsonian Report for 1930*, pp. 401–408, Washington, 1931.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

which the crops are planted in the ashes among the stumps and charred logs (Plate 5, *b*). The field is usually ready to burn about three weeks after the start of the dry season and is allowed to burn for about a week. In the planting women assist the men. Two implements are used, the hoe (sambá) of iron, which is obtained in trade, and the digging stick, which is merely a long pole three to four inches in diameter and five to eight feet long with a sharpened end. The latter implement is held in both hands and driven repeatedly into the ground to make a hole in which to plant such things as plantain. The hoe is used for loosening the ground preparatory to planting cassava shoots, maize, and similar crops. Cassava of the "bitter" or "poisonous" variety (*Manihot utilissima*) is the staple vegetable product of the Caribs. It is propagated by inserting young sticks cut from mature cassava plants into the ground at an angle. Each stick must have several shoots or buds and must show milk when it is cut. Cassava growing in the field is known as mainyá; the root of the cassava is called kiédi; and baked cassava bread ready to eat is arépa. After planting, the young cassava is weeded for a few weeks, following which it requires no further care until the roots are ready to be dug, which usually is the case after about nine months. The weeding is done by women and children. Cassava is a perennial which will produce a second crop without further attention. The third crop is usually poor because of exhaustion of the soil.

The roots are pulled up or are dug with hoes by the women, who usually go to the field every two or three days to replenish their supplies. They are placed in walishas (a type of carrying basket) and brought back to the house, where they are first washed free of earth with water brought from the creek in a calabash or pot. Then they are peeled or scraped to remove the bark-like skin (Plate 6, *a*). This process is called ipityali (I scrape cassava). The white peeled roots are then washed again (Plate 7, *a*) and grated (Plate 6, *b*). The graters now used are made of tin perforated with a pattern of concentric circles of small holes punched with a nail (Plate 7, *b*). The obverse surface of the perforated tin is rough and is bent over a log into a convex shape much like a larger edition of the tin nutmeg grater which is used in American kitchens. The graters average about eighteen by eight inches, and when in use are fitted onto the convex surface of a

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

block of wood which preserves their shape. The block is made of konta wood, and before the introduction of tin was studded with small points of quartz and used as a grater itself. In grating the woman sits on the ground with her legs folded under her and places the grater inside the concave surface of a semicylindrical trough made of one piece of bark. The grater leans against the side of the trough next to the operator with its long axis perpendicular to the long axis of the trough. The ends of the cylindrical roots of cassava are assiduously rubbed against the grater until the whole root is reduced to a white mash in the trough (Plate 6 *b*). When the grating is completed the matapi or cassava squeezer is taken down from the cross beam of the house on which it has been hanging (Plate 9, *a*). This ingenious device, which has been described numerous times by travelers in the Guianas and the Amazon country, is a tube of basketry woven by the men. When the tube is full it is suspended by a loop at its upper end from the end of a beam, while through the loop at the tube's inferior end a long pole is inserted. The end of the pole is caught under a cross beam tied for the purpose at the proper height to one of the uprights of the house. A long length of the pole protrudes through the loop on the opposite side and on this end the woman sits, so that the pole becomes a lever, actuated by the weight of the woman, for elongating the matapi. The leverage thus exerted elongates the tube, reducing its diameter and exerting on the contents a strong pressure which squeezes out the juice of the cassava mash. The juice (eshúru) drips into a pot placed below the inferior end of the matapi and is later boiled to make cashidípyo (Creole, cassarip), used for flavoring the Carib national dish, "pepper pot." The poisonous principle in the cassava juice, hydrocyanic acid, is freed by boiling.

The squeezing of the cassava mash usually occupies several hours. After the juice has been completely expressed the mash, now in the shape of a long cylindrical cake, is removed from the matapi and placed on the cross beams of the house, above the fire, to be smoked. It is believed that unsmoked cassava is harsh and causes one to choke in eating it. As cassava bread is made from day to day, the required amount of the cylindrical cake is broken off and pulverized into meal and sifted through a basketry sifter into a basketry tray (Plate 8, *a*).

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

The "pan" used for baking cassava is, in these days, an iron disc about eighteen inches in diameter obtained from the trading posts. I saw only one example in use of the clay discs formerly employed for this purpose. When ready to bake bread a woman first heats the pan, which is supported on stones above the fire. The fire is reduced to a bed of coals and strips of bark are laid around its circumference, so that a circle of small flames licks the outer edge of the cassava pan, while a bed of hot coals heats the interior. When the pan, is at the proper temperature the woman takes her fan, made of basketry, which she uses for blowing the fire, and scoops up a "fan-full" of the sifted cassava and deposits it in a heap in the middle of the pan. Then she works it about with the fan until the pan is covered with an even thickness of meal. The edges are turned inward and smoothed with the fan so that no meal drops off the pan into the fire. As the "bread" bakes, the particles of meal consolidate into a cake. When the cake is considered sufficiently cooked on one side, the fan is inserted under its inferior surface, in the manner of a pancake turner, and the whole cake is deftly flipped over on its other surface. When completed the cassava bread is a disc averaging about fifteen to eighteen inches in diameter, looking somewhat like an immense white pancake. Cakes of different thicknesses are baked, depending upon the taste of the household, and upon the use to which they are to be put. Very thick cakes three quarters to one inch in thickness are distinguished for their soft, succulent, semi-cooked interiors, but are not good as food supplies to be taken on trips or to be kept for a long period, as they tend to mould.

The broad leaves of the plantain tree and of the poro tree are used to wrap the cassava bread for preservation. The arepa and the leaf must both be dry, but if well packed the bread will keep in good condition for three months or more.

In addition to bread and cassarip, starch and two alcoholic drinks, cassiri and paiwari, are made from the cassava. In making the starch (sipipya) the extracted juice of the cassava is collected in a pot and allowed to stand until the starch has settled to the bottom. The liquid is then poured off and the starch set in the sun where it becomes dry like flour. It may then be mixed in meat broth to make soup, or it may be baked on the cassava pan into cakes, which, however, are usually smaller and thinner than

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

251 cassava cakes. The baked starch is called sipipya keipyo or mimyi.
252 The preparation of cassiri and paiwari is described in the section on stimulants.

245 Plantains (parurune) of two varieties are grown in the fields.
824 The aratan is comparatively small and is distinguished by the fact that the trunk of the tree is black. The taposa has a long thick fruit and a gray trunk. In planting, suckers are taken from the root, put in a hole made with the digging stick, and covered with earth; sometimes wood ashes are put in the bottom of the hole beforehand. The tree bears fruit about ten months later.
[462] Both men and women cooperate in the planting, although only men pick the fruit which is detached from the tree in large bunches
262 like bananas. The fruit may be eaten raw when it is ripe, that is,
252 when the outer skin is yellow. Both ripe and green plantains are boiled. Green roasted plantain is a great delicacy; the skin is removed and the fruit placed in the ashes of the fire; when finished it is split and spread with grease or gravy and eaten with the hands. Finally, the green plantain may be grated raw and baked into a thin cake on the cassava pan. A plantain leaf is laid on the pan before the moist mash is spread for baking. The leaf is also in constant use as wrapping material, to wrap cassava cakes, to cover loads in walishas (carrying baskets), and for all purposes in which wrapping material is required.

245 Bananas (paruru) are planted in the same way as plantains
824 and bear in about the same length of time (ten months). Ten
252 varieties are distinguished: the small red banana is called maripyemyu and bears early; the large yellow type is called idinyuku; the largest reddish banana (kyasakore), bears earliest of all the varieties, is black when ripe, and is used mostly for roasting; the large yellow variety is called wepyunsokai and ripens in the middle of the season; the small sour reddish banana, called "sour fig" by the creoles, is called sari arya by the Caribs and is distinguished from the maripyemyu by its tart flavor; the greenish type (ipitakamapo), known as the "apple banana" and the "Cayenne banana" to the creoles, is usually boiled; the black banana is called mekorumyo; the stubby green type is called mutuku; and
245 the medium red variety rejoices in the name of pomere or pomede.
824 Four varieties of pineapple (nana)[1] are grown: kashushipyopo,

[1] *Ananas sativa.*

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

largest and juiciest; ekupu, slightly smaller than the preceding type; toshiare, long and thin, the sweetest of the four types; kuyarimyo, longer, thinner, and slightly sourer than toshiare. In planting, shoots are taken from the roots of mature plants and put in holes made in the ground with the digging stick. The plant bears in about a year after planting. The fruit is picked when it is yellow, and the skin removed with a knife. The fruit is mostly used to make an alcoholic drink called tanemu, the pulp being grated into a juicy mash and allowed to set for several days after having been mixed with water. Occasionally the ungrated fruit is eaten raw.

Three varieties of yams (napoi)[1] are known to the Caribs; apotononngnapoi, the large white yam; tawimidididishye, the small white yam; tupununapoi, the purple yam. They may be planted at any time of year and ripen in ten to eleven months, i.e. when the leaves die. For food they are eaten boiled, after being peeled. A drink, napoishuru, is also made from yams, as described in the chapter on stimulants.

Tanyas and eddoes are also grown in the fields and are boiled in the pot after being peeled.

Sugar cane grows in every field. It is planted by inserting a shoot into a small hill of loose earth. It is eaten as a confection, being chewed like a stick of candy after the outside bark has been removed. The juice is also expressed in the cane mill (Plate 8, *b*) and used as an ingredient in cassiri and other alcoholic drinks.[2]

Two types of "punkin" or squash (wayoma) are to be found in Carib fields: apotono wayomo, large and spherical; takunshishe wayomo, long and thin, with flesh drier and of superior flavor. The squash is planted from seed and bears in three months. As soon as the fruit is ripe the seeds are planted again so that a relatively continuous supply will be on hand all the year around. The squash is eaten only boiled; it is never dried or made into bread or cake.

Maize (awashi) of red (kuwata) and white (tamuneng awashi) varieties is raised. The seed is planted in small hills made with the hoe. While still green, the corn may be roasted on the cob in the husks; the ear is simply stuck among the hot ashes of a fire. When ripe, the kernels are removed from the cob with the hands

[1] *Dioscorea* sp.

[2] For a discussion of the probable introduction of this type of cane mill by negroes and for its distribution in South America, see Nordenskiöld, 1930, *Modifications of Indian Culture through Inventions and Loans.*

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

252 243 and pounded in a wooden mortar with a wooden pestle to make corn meal (awashi apopo). This meal may be mixed with cane juice and baked into a cake on the pan or it may be boiled and eaten hot like porridge.

245 [272] Limes (idiyoma) are grown in the fields. The seeds are scattered on the ground and seedlings replanted. Lime juice is mixed with water to make a sort of limeade. Bina plants (see section on Religion) are also grown in the fields.

[757] The papaiya (*Carica papaya*) is grown in fields and also in house clearings. The fruit is eaten raw when ripe. In the green state the rind is boiled and considered a good regulator for stomachic troubles. The leaves are sometimes dried and rolled into cigarettes, 249 alone or with tobacco leaves. Tobacco plants are grown from seedlings in the agricultural fields. (See section on Stimulants.)

In addition to the foregoing food products, the kraua grass plant is grown in the fields. The leaves of this plant resemble those of the pineapple and, as stated heretofore, are shredded so that the fibre may be used in making cord and string. It is planted from suckers in the same way as the pineapple.

244 263 Under the head of agriculture must be considered three other species of plants which are grown, not in the agricultural fields proper, but in the clearing which surrounds the house. The pepper (pawmi)[1] is an important part of the Carib menu and together with cassarip furnishes the only condiment, with the exception of occasional trade salt, which is used by the natives. Five varieties [824] of pepper are cultivated: poroporo, big, round, red, very hot; kawnamu, small, green; sidimya, very small and red; yanakatu, long, thin, and green; arapo, long, green (creole, lady finger). They are planted from seeds in holes made with a stick. They are cooked with meat and vegetables in the pepper pot, and are also eaten raw as garnishing in sandwiches of meat or fish and cassava [757] bread. As a remedy for headache a feather is rubbed in the pulp of a pepper and drawn across the eyes. Pepper juice is dropped in 276 the eyes for headaches. Aremi emu (magicians) drink a mixture of pepper juice and water to induce the psychic state necessary for communication with the supernatural powers.

244 824 The calabash bushes are a familiar shrub in all house clearings (kwa'i, calabash; kwa'yepwi, calabash bush). Four types of

[1] *Capsicum* sp.

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

222 The "cabbages," or fresh shoots, of several palms [1]
262 Akoyuru seed (*Astrocaryum tucuma*).
137 Arrow root (*Maranta indica, Miramosissima*).

263 Such salt as is eaten nowadays is obtained in trade. Some of the older people, however, remember seeing leaves of certain trees burned and the ashes mixed with food as a condiment.

●252 462 **Cooking.** The women of the household cook all food which is eaten at home, although men are able to prepare their own meals when unavoidably detained in the bush. The desire to have the women do the cooking, as well as the other pleasures of connubiality, accounts for the fact that a man going on a long journey will always attempt to have his wife accompany him.

251 Uncooked meat may be preserved by salting and by smoking over the fire.

252 Certain foods may be roasted in the ashes, others roasted on the end of a green stick, others baked on the pan, but the most universal way of preparing vegetables and meat is to make them into "pepper pot." In every Carib house a pot will be seen on the fire stones at almost any time of day. Meat and vegetables are cut into small pieces and put into the pot with water and a suitable amount of cashidipyo and set to boil. The cashidipyo lends a slightly acrid or peppery taste to the mess, somewhat like the flavor imparted by Worcestershire sauce.

264 No set times are observed for meals, although food is quite regularly taken upon arising and in the evening. Men and boys eat their fill from the pot alone, after which the females are allowed to stay their hunger with the remainder. One usually squats over the pot with a cake of cassava and a pot of peppers near by. One reaches into the pot with the bare hands and extracts a piece of meat or a vegetable which may be popped into the mouth or may be laid on a piece of cassava bread, which is bent over to make a sandwich. According to the dictates of personal taste a pepper may be included in the sandwich. If one desires the gravy in the bottom of the pot, one soaks a piece of cassava bread in it. When the pot is emptied more ingredients are added without cleaning out the pot. In this way there is always a supply of cooked food on hand, and the constant simmering keeps it from spoiling.

[252]

[1] ?*Oreodoxa, Areca oleracea, Euterpe oleracea.* See Schomburgk, 1922–23, *Travels in British Guiana*, Vol. I, p. 33.

1a Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1935 SR9 Carib SR9

252

a, Removing the skin from the cassava root by scraping with an old cutlass.

b, Grating the cleaned cassava root in order to reduce it to a mash preparatory to extracting the poisonous juice.

[End plate 6]

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a, Washing the cassava root after it has been scraped.

b, Apparatus used for grating cassava. In the foreground, resting against one of the braces of the bark trough is the wooden base of the grater; behind it is the perforated tin grater which fits over the base.

[End plate 7]

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-39) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

252

a. Breaking up a cylinder of cassava meal on the sifter, preparatory to sifting out the fine meal for baking bread.

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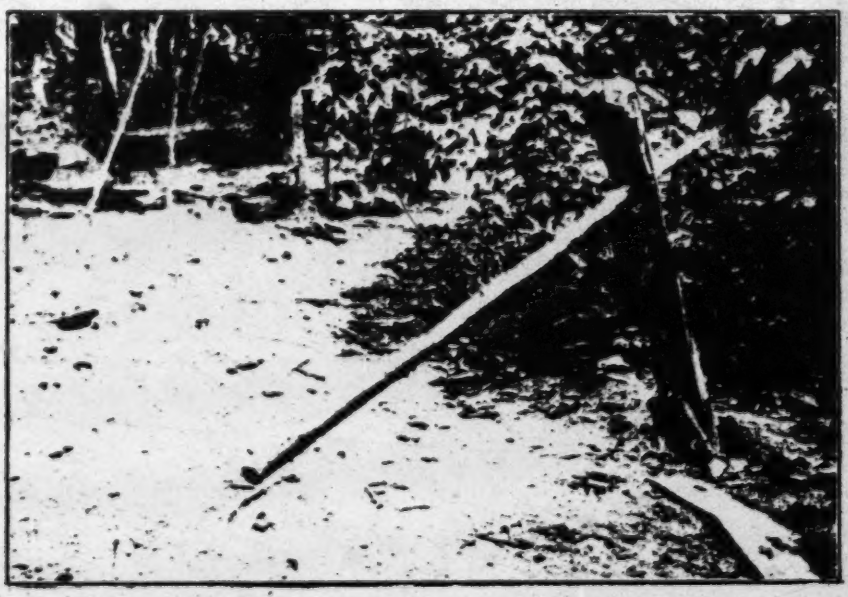

b. Mill or juice-extractor. The canes are laid one by one on the table or projecting piece of wood under the lever. The juice flows down to the point where it falls into a pot on the ground.

(End plate 8)

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1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SSD Carib 589

a, Three matapi, basketry tubes used for extracting the poisonous juice from the grated cassava.

b, Women's costumes typical of settlements removed from supply of trade cloth.

[End plate 9]